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ABSTRACT

This report analyzes and compares information on educational achievements of minorities in the USSR. It also reviews and assesses Soviet educational policy for nationalities and suggests some areas for further study. Data are based on the USSR 1970 All-Union Census and later evidence. National minorities in the USSR have historically been guaranteed rights and freedom of choice in language of instruction. In 1970, Georgians and Jews had superior achievements, the Georgians because of favored status during Stalin's era, and Jews because of a high concentration in urban areas. Since 1970, the undergraduate level shows an increase in enrollment for all minorities except Georgians and Jews. At the graduate level there was a general decline but a larger percentage of Asian minorities enrolled. The drastic decline of Jews reflects Soviet educational policy and discriminatory quotas, causing them to seek emigration. Trends show increased opportunity for some groups. However, fewer specialists are being trained because of reduced enrollment of students from educationally motivated groups. In summary, there has been a major effort to provide education for non-Russian ethnic groups, with bilingual options available. Problems needing attention include the quality difference between urban and rural schools, cultural divisiveness within some groups leading to less schooling for women and a negative view of education, lack of trained technological manpower, severity of graduating and admissions exams, and a declining birth rate among well-educated groups coupled with an increase of those with less motivation. (CK)

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EDUCATION OF ETHNIC AND NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE USSR

A REPORT ON CURRENT DEVELOPMENT

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Education of Ethnic and National Minorities in the USSR:
A Report on Current Development

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I Introduction. Since the revolution of 1917, basic premises in the Soviet Union have stressed the self-determination of non-Russian populations, and a commitment to their education. Self-determination has been to a great extent realized within the development of Union Republics and lesser geographic entities, although there remain some national and ethnic groups for whom there is no designated political area: Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, Jews, Chuvash, et. al.

Each of the fifteen Union Republics is given, by the Soviet Constitution, the responsibility for public education. Thus, each has a ministry for education which exercises the functions assigned by the Constitution and implements current legislation promulgated by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Leadership and initiative in educational matters are essentially vested in the ministerial authority for education of the USSR.

From the early years of development of the Soviet Union, educational efforts have been exerted toward the achievement of universal literacy, the expansion of technological capability, and devotion to the tenets of the Soviet state. Such activities have, over the years, required the establishment of an educational

system which would be responsive to the three goals I have noted, and which would function with reference to the centralized organization, planning, and control inherent in Soviet principles. Thus, economic requirements for competent, skilled manpower and the prerequisite educational foundations have been closely interwoven. At the same time, the cultural and social components of educational activities are infused with the necessary ideological requirements of the Communist order.

In the pursuit of developmental goals, Soviet authorities have provided ever-increasing facilities and opportunities for education to all groups in the population. Documentation has shown that with increasing numbers in the various nationality groups, there are greater enrollments in the schools, almost complete literacy has been achieved, and there is ever greater access to higher levels of education. When compared with data of the early 1920's, current information may be viewed with euphoria.

With the publication of the 1970 All-Union Census[1] we are able to note some details of how the nationalities have progressed to that date. We find a differentiation of levels of achievement among the various groups. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the information presented, to reflect upon the apparent achievements of nationalities, and to compare the 1970 Census data with additional data more recently received. We will have the

opportunity to review and assess Soviet educational policy for nationalities and to examine certain elements for further study and analysis.

II The situation of nationalities in the USSR. As early as 1913, Lenin expressed the Bolshevik party's view on nationalities:

> "...Guaranteeing the rights of a national minority is inseparably linked up with the principle of complete equality."[2]

Lenin refers to a Marxist conference in which a decision was taken which "demands the incorporation in the constitution of a fundamental law which shall declare null and void all privileges enjoyed by any one nation and all infringements of the rights of a national minority."[3]

In his Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin noted that "the cultural development of our people...was marked by the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education in the languages of the various nationalities of the USSR."[4]

Lenin's insistence that proletarians of all nationalities will share in the development of the state is further emphasized in Stalin's recognition that the languages of the national components of the USSR are important in the tasks of Soviet advancement.

The Law of 19 July 1973 of the USSR on public education makes it one of the basic principles that there is "freedom of

choice of the language of instruction: instruction in the native language or another language of the peoples of the USSR..."

The Soviet educational system, therefore, implements the philosophical determinations of Lenin's party in current legislation and practice. While emphasis is given to the equal status of languages in serving the state, we shall consider later in this report, the conditions of the different languages and their role in national development.

We must now look at the nationalities, their numbers in the USSR, and their educational status.*

* Much of the following information is presented in Katz, et. al., in Soviet Education (June 1978), the Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations, and publications of Radio Liberty.

5.

Table 1 shows the population of nationality groups in the USSR, derived from the 1970 Census.

Table 1. Size of Selected Nationality Groups in the USSR (in 000's)

Groups	Numbers 1970	Percentage of total Population
USSR (all nationalities)	241,720	
Russians	129,015	53.4
Ukrainians	40,753	16.9
Uzbeks	9,195	3.8
Belorussians	9,052	3.7
Tatars	5,931	2.5
Kazakhs	5,299	2.2
Azerbaidzhani	4,380	1.8
Armenians	3,559	1.5
Georgians	3,245	1.3
Moldavians	2,698	1.1
Lithuanians	2,665	1.1
Jews	2,151	0.9
Tadzhiks	1,846	0.8
Chuvash	1,694	0.7
Turkmens	1,525	0.6
Kirghiz	1,452	0.6
Latvians	1,430	0.6
Bashkirs	1,240	0.5
Estonians	1,007	0.4
Chechens	613	0.3
Ossetins	488	0.2
Avars	396	0.1
Kabardins	280	0.1
Ingush	173	*
Karachai	113	*
Adygei	100	*
Buryats	315	0.1
Yakuts	296	0.1
Balkars	60	*
Cherkessy	40	*
Karakalpaks	236	*
Kalmyks	137	*

* Less than 0.1 percent

We note that nationality (ethnic) groups are found not only in the political entities that bear their names,

but in others where work assignments, educational opportunity, or economic interest may have attracted them. The Census, therefore, has reported the nationalities and their numbers in the population regardless of their location. The same data have been reported for the following information about educational achievement.

Table 2 reports the 1970 Census data on the educational levels achieved by selected nationality groups based on population above ten years of age.

In reviewing the information in Tables 1 and 2, we note the relative size of national or ethnic groups in the population and are able to determine some unique characteristics for several of the groups. The Georgians, for example, have achieved a level of education that is superior to that of more numerous groups: nearly 58 per cent have been educated beyond the primary level. Although they are less than 2 per cent of the total USSR population, this achievement surpasses all others with the exception of the Jews. The latter comprise less than 1 per cent of the population and have reached the point where 82 per cent of this group has an education above the primary level.

When we examine the levels referring to completed secondary and complete (or incomplete) higher education, the same two ethnic groups are remarkably distinct in their high levels of achievement.

Table 2. Educational Levels of Selected Nationality Groups, Populations Above Age 10,5

	% with higher educ. (comp. & incomp.)	% with completed secondary education	Total % with educ. above primary level	% with completed primary education only	% with less than full primary education
USSR: all nationalities	5.5%	18.7%	48.3%	29.3%	22.4%
Russians	5.9	19.7	50.8	28.9	20.3
Ukrainians	4.5	19.2	47.6	28.3	24.1
Belorussians	4.0	16.9	43.8	33.3	22.9
Estonians	6.0	18.2	46.2	43.7	10.1
Latvians	5.6	18.3	48.8	32.1	19.1
Lithuanians	4.5	11.9	35.3	38.5	26.2
Moldavians	2.2	8.6	33.8	34.3	31.9
Armenians	7.5	23.5	51.8	27.1	21.1
Georgians	10.5	30.0	57.8	23.6	18.6
Azerbaidzhanis	5.3	17.3	42.4	28.9	29.7
Uzbeks	3.7	16.2	41.2	28.0	30.8
Kazakhs	4.2	14.9	39.0	29.9	31.1
Kirghiz	3.8	15.2	40.0	28.5	31.5
Tadzhiks	3.2	13.8	39.0	29.6	31.4
Turkmen	3.6	13.6	43.0	27.9	29.1

Adygeis	5.3	17.6	43.5	27.0	29.5
Avars (Dagestan)	2.8	9.5	30.8	32.3	36.9
Balkars	4.3	12.4	35.6	33.5	30.9
Bashkirs	2.2	10.2	36.9	35.7	27.4
Buryats	6.7	15.4	42.7	30.6	26.7
Chechens	1.2	6.2	21.9	33.4	44.7
Cherkess	3.8	14.6	42.1	29.8	28.1
Chuvash	2.4	11.9	42.4	32.3	25.3
Ingush	2.3	8.6	25.2	31.1	43.7
Jews (RSFSR only)	39.9	30.7	82.4	11.6	6.0
Kabardins	3.9	15.5	41.7	29.4	28.6
Kalmyks	2.6	9.7	29.8	35.7	34.5
Karachais	4.5	12.4	34.6	32.5	32.9
Karakalpaks	3.9	13.4	38.4	30.0	31.6
Ossetins (in RSFSR)	7.4	22.8	50.9	25.3	23.8
Ossetins (in Georgia)	5.4	19.8	44.3	29.0	26.7
Tatars (in RSFSR)	3.1	13.2	44.2	31.8	24.0
Tatars (in Uzbek SSR)	6.8	21.1	53.5	27.4	18.8
Yakuts	4.6	14.3	37.4	32.0	30.6

They are joined by Armenians, Ossetins, and Tatars at somewhat lower levels. It remains evident that among the more numerous ethnic groups, Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, and Belorussians, the percentages of high educational achievement are mingled with less populous groups at similar levels. Thus, the four numerous groups show little difference in educational levels from such less numerous nationalities as the Estonians, Latvians, Adygeis, Kirghiz, and others.

In attempting to determine some basis for the condition observed, we may recall the traditional comment about Stalin's benevolence toward his fellow Georgians: that Soviet resources were expended in Georgia to improve housing, industrialization, and access to education, out of proportion to those given to other republics or regions. This may account for the "headstart" of the Georgians, but was Stalin equally lavish in providing educational institutions and access to other ethnic groups? We have few facts about institution building, the nature of the schools, their quality, and enrollments in the different republics and regions. Where Jews are concerned we have little evidence of Stalin's paternalism in their behalf; we are aware that the Jewish "autonomous province" of Birobidjan experienced a dearth of Jews from its establishment in the late 1920's to the present.

Further review of significant factors brings us to the examination of elements which comparative educators have found consistently related to educational achievement: the urban-rural

aspect. Typically, those populations which remain in a rural environment show lower levels of educational achievement; they continue in lower-level technical labor and do not reach the salaries, housing, or cultural conditions of professional personnel.

Table 3 shows the urban-rural distributions of some of the nationality groups whose educational levels were presented above.

Table 3. Urban-Rural Distribution by Nationality, 1970.[6]

Rank	Nationality	Percent Urban	Percent Rural
1	Jews	97.9	2.1
2	Russians	68.0	32.0
3	Armenians	64.8	35.2
4	Estonians	55.1	44.9
5	Tatars	55.0	45.0
6	Latvians	52.7	47.3
7	Ukrainians	48.5	51.5
8	Lithuanians	46.7	53.3
9	Georgians	44.0	56.0
10	Belorussians	43.7	56.3
11	Azerbaidzhani	39.7	60.3
12	Turkmen	31.0	69,0
13	Kazakhs	26.7	73.3
14	Tadzhiks	26.0	74.0
15	Uzbeks	24.9	75.1
16	Moldavians	20.4	79.6
17	Kirghiz	14.6	85.4
	USSR Average	56.0	44.0

From Table 3, we note that those nationalities who are above the average in urbanization tend also to have achieved higher levels of education. This verifies, again, the concept that urban centers provide more adequate educational access and offer opportunities for individual and group mobility toward higher status in any society. It is difficult to conclude, in the case of the Georgians however, that their educational achievement

validates the concept; we may continue to surmise that their favored status over a long period of time has tended to produce educational achievement in a relatively rural setting. If we may not continue in this surmise we could find ourselves in the trap of an ethnic stereotype, a hazard which could lead to Jensenian implications!

Another element related to the differential effects of urban-rural environments is that of teachers and their preparation.

In Inside Soviet Schools, Jacoby reports that:

> "The rural areas do not produce enough secondary-school or college graduates to staff their schools without help from the cities, and the bright farm youngsters who do make their way to institutes in the cities usually find ways to avoid returning to the areas where they grew up. Consequently, farm schools in the Soviet Union have an unusually high percentage of inexperienced and/or unqualified teachers."[7]

Jacoby describes studies and newspaper reports in which teachers in village schools were stated to have a lower level of education and professional preparation than those in the cities. Thus, teachers tend to provide greater or lesser opportunity (incentive?) to their students depending upon the urban-rural context. The case of Grozney University (Georgia) is offered, where 85 percent of the students were graduates of city high schools.[8]

The problem of rural inadequacies in education may also be related to the attitude toward women among Asian nationality groups. Jacoby relates that the negative view of education for women persists to this day among practicing Moslems: they

frequently oppose education for girls beyond the primary school. Mothers of little education are not able to help their children with schoolwork; they do not encourage them toward education beyond the minimum. Thus the lack of teachers from the non-Russian ethnic groups contributes to the problems of educating the childrer of these groups.[9]

In accordance with the Soviet Constitution, parents may choose the basic language for the education of their children. This is dealt with in different ways among the ethnic groups: Georgians choose their own language first and Russian second. Latvians and Ukrainians tend to do the same. In the Asian areas, parents prefer to have their children learn Russian as soon as possible, recognizing the values of the dominant language for mobility. Soviet policy, therefore, offers the opportunities for ethnic minorities to enhance their cultural status while leaving it to parents to select the route they consider most desirable for their children.[10]

Table 4 illustrates the extent of Russian language identity among the various ethnic populations. Insofar as language skills in the dominant language provide for greater access to further education and to ensuing professional status, there is a reasonably strong motivation for members of all nationality groups to be at least bilingual.

12.

Table 4. Percentages of Linguistic Russification Among Selected Nationalities, 1970.[11]
*(those who claim to be fluent in Russian as a second language)

Nationality	Rural	Urban
Ukrainians	25.1	48.5
Belorussians	50.1	55.9
Moldavians	27.8	62.2
Lithuanians	21.8	51.1
Latvians	37.8	52.4
Estonians	16.7	36.5
Kazakhs	35.2	59.5
Uzbeks	6.9	32.0
Tadzhiks	10.6	33.7
Turkmen	7.4	30.7
Azerbaidzhanis	4.3	29.6
Georgians	8.2	35.8
Armenians	9.5	31.6
Jews (USSR) (a)	17.6	14.2
Tatars	38.0	81.2

(a) For Jews with Russian as a second language, the "native" language is Yiddish which has been sustained with almost no educational or cultural support since the end of World War II. Jews who claim Russian as their native language and who can no longer speak Yiddish are divided as follows: Rural, 56.9 percent; Urban, 72.8 percent. This level of Russification is far higher than in any other ethnic group in Table 4, the nearest being the Latvians: Rural, 0.6 percent; Urban, 13.7 percent.

Russian language fluency, as noted in Table 4, coupled with urban residence seems to relate irregularly with the completion of levels of education. Thus, the Armenians and the Georgians, with substantial numbers who are not fluent in Russian, have achieved well above groups who are Russian-speaking. On the other hand, Moldavians, highly Russified, have relatively low educational attainment. In this situation, it is likely that a republic with its own university(ies) may offer access and mobility within its own linguistic identity and function. Development within

a nationality group thus results from the inter-relationships of cultural persistence, motivations to education for all, and the level of industrial concentration which produces urban centers. At this point in our analysis it is difficult to reach conclusions beyond these, other than to seek to link success with objectively-determined factors.

III Evidence of Change. With the receipt of recent Soviet data, we have evidence of continuing educational opportunity at the university level. Larger numbers of undergraduates were enrolled in 1976-77 as compared with 1970-71. For certain ethnic groups this has also reflected a decrease in opportunity while for others there has been an increase. Jews and Georgians show a decline in admissions, with a particularly drastic reduction for the former.

Table 5 presents the evidence of change in undergraduate enrollments.[12]

Table 5 Numbers of Undergraduate Students in the USSR by Nationality

Nationality	1970-71 (in 000's)	As A Percentage	1976-77 (in 000's)	As A Percentage	Percentage 1976-77/1970-71
TOTAL	4,580.6	100.0	4,950.2	100.0	108
of which:					
Russian	2,729.0	59.6	2,926.1	59.1	107
Ukrainian	621.2	13.6	655.1	13.4	107
Belorussian	131.2	2.9	155.3	3.1	118
Uzbek	150.7	3.3	176.5	3.6	117
Kazakhs	100.3	2.2	124.0	2.5	124
Georgian	87.8	1.9	82.6	1.7	94
Azerbaidzhani	86.0	1.9	90.8	1.8	106
Lithuanian	49.8	1.1	58.6	1.2	118
Moldavian	30.8	0.7	33.0	0.7	107
Latvian	21.8	0.5	24.1	0.5	111
Kirghiz	26.4	0.6	32.1	0.6	122
Tadzhik	28.1	0.6	34.7	0.7	124
Armenian	81.5	1.8	82.1	1.7	101
Turkmen	22.0	0.5	24.9	0.5	114
Estonian	17.9	0.4	19.3	0.4	108
Bashkir	14.8	0.3	18.9	0.4	128
Dagestan	20.3	0.4	23.8	0.5	117
Tatar	87.0	1.9	108.2	2.2	125
Chuvash	16.0	0.3	20.6	0.4	129
Jews	105.8	2.3	66.9	1.4	63
Other	152.2	3.3	182.6	3.7	120

It is clear that Soviet educational authorities have been responsive to the conditions which affect manpower resources. Where nationalities have previously attained insufficient levels of education (Chuvash, Kazakhs, Tadzhiks, Bashkirs, et. al.), larger numbers have entered the universities by 1976-77. The major nationality groups (Russians, Ukrainians) are represented at a slightly nigher level according to most current data. The Georgians show a decrease in enrollments while the Jews have experienced a quite drastic reduction.

With regard to Jewish enrollments, there is little reason to doubt that admissions to higher education reflect official lack of confidence in Jewish loyalty to the system in general. If the Soviet Union has established a numerus clausus for certain ethnic groups, the Jews have already felt its effects: in the current year not a single Jew was admitted to the University of Moscow.

In reviewing the levels of graduate student enrollments, Table 6, we can observe that there is a general decline from 1970 to 1975.[13] Nevertheless, the percentage of change increased for several nationality groups: Kazaks, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Belorussians, and Tatars, mostly Asian. For all other groups, the percentages of graduate student enrollments from 1970 to 1975 declined, with the spectacular drop for Jewish students of 57 percent.

16.

Table 6. Numbers of Graduate Students by Nationality in the USSR

	End of 1970	As a Percentage	End of 1975	As a Percentage	Percentage 1975/1970
Total	99,427	100.0	95,675	100.0	96
Of which:					
Russian	59,517	59.9	59,120	61.8	99
Ukraine	12,248	12.3	11,863	12.4	97
Belorussian	2,540	2.6	2,634	2.8	103
Uzbek	2,493	2.5	2,628	2.7	105
Kazak	1,780	1.8	2,011	2.1	113
Georgian	1,846	1.9	1,638	1.7	89
Azerbaijani	2,036	2.0	1,820	1.9	89
Lithuanian	1,195	1.2	1,056	1.1	88
Moldavian	619	0.6	565	0.6	91
Latvian	700	0.7	615	0.6	88
Kirghiz	452	0.5	446	0.5	99
Tajik	489	0.5	502	0.5	103
Armenian	2,292	2.3	2,036	2.1	89
Turkmen	480	0.5	450	0.5	94
Estonian	657	0.7	480	0.5	73
Bashkir	236	0.2	259	0.3	109
Peoples of Dagestan	528	0.5	499	0.5	95
Tatar	1,380	1.4	1,419	1.5	103
Chuvash	267	0.3	247	0.3	93
Jewish	4,945	5.0	2,841	3.0	57
Other	2,727	2.8	2,546	2.7	93

The data show, interestingly, that in 1970 third place in enrollment was held by Jewish graduate students as 5 percent of the total. In 1975, though the numbers of Jews enrolled is down by almost one-half, that nationality is still in third place with three percent of the total.

With regard to the evident reduction in the numbers of Jewish students in higher education, Epstein reviews recent Soviet educational policy toward this group.[14] He attempts to draw distinctions, from the evidence, between what might be "pervasive anti-Semitism" and the fundamentals of "Marxist-Leninist ideology".

The evidence shows discriminatory Soviet practices including admission quotas in education and denial of religious education, as well as occasional official statements against anti-Semitism (and Zionism). In such circumstances, the sensitivity of Jews as to their religion and their own ethnicity is heightened. They may not be faulted, therefore, for linking a latent current of Russian anti-Semitism with the expression of the ruling ideology. The Soviet system has educated anti-Semitism out of its citizenry or it has given official and ideological sanction to it. In either case, the results are the same for Jewish students.

Following the same evidence, Ro'i states that "...the social forces that have led to popular anti-Semitism and the political forces that have led to anti-Semitism on the part of party and

government have had a considerable impact on very large numbers of Jews in all walks of life throughout the Soviet Union."[15]

Ro'i quotes a distinguished Soviet Jewish scientist who has since emigrated to Israel: "Soviet Jews have exchanged their traditions for one value--education. When they are deprived of it, they are deprived of everything. When intellectuals who have built their lives on professional achievement perceive barriers to their advancement, they find themselves in a crisis that is tantamount to loss of the meaning of life."[16]

It is reasonable to anticipate that reduced access to education will cause more Soviet Jews to seek emigration; this will, in turn, provoke both ideological and popular hostility. For Jews who do not emigrate (or who do not request it), the likelihood is great that an enhanced sense of ethnicity will continue to develop, with furthur difficulties for themselves and the ideologues of the Soviet system.

We may examine the trends and note that while the Soviet educational authorities are providing more opportunity for certain ethnic groups, the problem of lag in the production of specialists will have to be faced. Soviet academicians and specialists continue to be needed by the general economy and by the various sectors, including higher education. Their preparation and training will falter as long as such education-oriented groups as Georgians and Jews are limited in their educational endeavors by artificially-determined quotas.

IV Summary and Conclusions. We have observed that, in general, there has been a decided effort to provide education for non-Russian ethnic populations in the Soviet Union. We in the United States may well note that bilingual options are available and have been grasped in the Soviet Union. We also observe that "integration" of ethnic groups has not been established in a physical sense, i.e. that groups must be in schools together. Nevertheless we might consider that to a great extent "integration" has been carried out with language and not with the movement of bodies.

The efforts made in the Soviet Union have been substantial and effective. However, the Soviets face, as do other nations, the concerns for education in the future. They can be delineated as follows:

1. The great disparity between rural and urban educational services: personnel, buildings, materials, and access.
2. The cultural divisiveness within ethnic groups which results in less schooling for women and, generally, a negative view of schooling.
3. The lack of adequately trained manpower from all ethnic groups to meet expanding Soviet requirements in technology.
4. The severity of "graduation" examinations following the secondary school and of admissions examinations to higher education institutions.
5. The declining birth rate among the well-educated ethnic groups and the increase in numbers of those groups with less drive for educational achievement.[17]

There are, of course, other problems facing Soviet decision-makers with regard to education and ethnicity, but the foregoing seem to be most pressing and of critical interest.

To examine education in the Soviet Union, whether with specific regard to ethnic groups or to other elements, is to grope for dimensions with insufficient cues. The 1970 Census represents an important contribution to USSR education-watchers, as do the current statistical reports from Moscow. We may not be able to relate Soviet problems to those we face in this country (or in other Western nations). Bakke cases, Lau decisions on bilingualism, and desegregation orders do not arise in Soviet courts or make headlines in Soviet news media. Yet the elements of such conditions abound: there are unenunciated quotas, based on class background, on ethnic identity, and on political adherance. There are clear-cut advantages to mastery of the dominant language and to true bilingualism. Racial segregation is not an overt issue, though it is sponsored in national self-determination and reflects the variations in educational access decreed by national planners.

Problems for the West? Solutions? The basic premises appear to be too different between us and the Soviet Union, but the strivings of individuals and of ethnic groups continue to offset the best laid plans of party-liners and educational planners in both systems. For USSR education-watchers, in particular, the tasks continue to be informative and intriguing.

21.

Footnotes:

1 Results of the All-Union Population Census of 1970, Vol. IV: The Nationality Composition of the Population of the USSR, Moscow, 1972.

2 Lenin, V. I., Critical Remarks on the National Question Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968, p. 28 (written in 1913).

3 Ibid, Note 22, p. 154.

4 Franklin, Bruce, The Essential Stalin, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1972. p. 364.

5 From Boiter, Albert, "Educational Levels of Soviet Nationalities Compared", Radio Liberty Dispatch, June 28, 1973, p. 5.

6 Adapted from: Katz, A., R. Rogers, and F. Horned, eds. Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities, New York: The Free Press, 1975, p. 447.

7 Jacoby, Susan, Inside Soviet Schools. New York: Hill and Wang, 1974, pp. 150-151.

8 Ibid, p. 152.

9 Ibid, p. 156.

10 Ibid, pp. 160-61.

11 Derived from Silver, Brian D., "Methods of Deriving Data on Bilingualism from the 1970 Soviet Census" Soviet Studies, XXVII, No. 4, October 1975, pp. 574-97.

12 Derived from "The Changing Composition of the Soviet Student Body", Radio Liberty Research, March 29, 1978, Based on the 1977 Soviet Statistical Yearbook (Narodnoe Khoziaistvo).

13 Ibid.

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15 Ro'i, Yaacov, "The Soviet Jewish Anomaly", The Jerusalem Quarterly, No. 10, Winter 1979, p. 110.

16 Ibid., p. 115.

17 This problem is interestingly addressed in: Meyer, Herbert E., "The Coming Soviet Ethnic Crisis", Fortune, August 14, 1978.

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